old snail refuse heaps along the southern coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Nolloth prove this. They no longer make them. But prehistoric time in Namaland is relatively recent; historical information about the Hottentot people dates back only a few centuries. It was, therefore, worthwhile to look for one of those old clay vessels, prehistoric fragments of which I had found buried in the sand along the coast near Port Nolloth, in the huts of the present-day Hottentots. The only one I found, after much vain effort, is pictured here. [Picture. Baked Clay Vessel of the Old Kind. 1/4 natural size.] The clay vessel is called ǂgo/asūⁿs, i.e. clay pot. Another word for it *kxoe.kxoesūⁿs, was of interest to me, since it was the only case, in which the old, native tribal designation of the Hottentots (see p. 322)[1] came to my ears.

On the one hand imported European wares have replaced the clay vessels. On the other hand the impoverished Namib nomads [247] have sunk back to the lowest imaginable cultural state in their cooking utensils, since, instead of pots, they put the breastbone of an ostrich, called *//gūⁿs, on the fire.

2. Stone, as found in nature, today plays a subordinate role in the household of the Hottentots. [Picture. Stone Mill for Hand Use. 1/4 natural size.]

Only one stone utensil is as indispensible today as formerly: the handmill. It consists of two stones, a thin flat stone, */ui aib - always masculine gender) as a base and a round stone*, */uiams (always feminine

*The gender of the endings of both words is emphasized, because their contrast in this connection is preserved intact and this type of opposites is typical of Hottentot language usage. The flat stone is always masculine because it is angular and slim (it has a large surface area in relation to its mass), while the compact round stone recalls the round thickset forms of the female body and therefore has a feminine ending.

In the neighborhood of Kulub there are two watering places next each other, *ǂkxanu·b and *ǂkxanu·s, each on a slope of a high rise of primary rock. One of the hills is slender with a more pointed crest. This watering place is differentiated sharply from the other

[1] [i.e., p. 120 of this translation.--Analyst]

one by its masculine ending. The name for the other one is the same except it has a feminine ending, since the top of the hill is massive and more gently rounded. 193 196

Whereas in the above case it is the contour, in another case it is the size of the objects compared that determines the choice of the gender ending. Thus the Hottentot words for women's breasts and buttocks are masculine, and the words for the corresponding parts of the male body have a feminine ending because those parts are less well developed.

Thus the Hottentot is always aware of the sensuous origin of his rules for gender.

gender) which is rubbed on the flat rock back and forth in a straight line and at the same time rolled slightly. Roots, pods, coffee beans, buchu herbs, paints for make-up, in short everything used in powder form, is ground on this mill. 412 324

The three cooking stones, !nō/ti, on which the cooking pot rests, the whetstone, /kx̄ō-/uis, and the flint, !nō/hs (not rare at Keetmanshoop) with which they strike sparks on the tinder (usually rotten wood) against an iron handle, are the other three natural stone articles which the Hottentots use. [372]

Neither the sandstone nor limestone of the tablelands nor the gneiss and granite of the mountains of their homeland are suitable for stone work. But locally there is serpentine, the existence of which has been proved (42) in Kaukaussib and on the southern side of the 324 [135] [317]

42. E. Freiherr Stromer von Reichenbach, Die Geologie der deutschen Schutzgebiete in Ostafrika, München and Leipzig, 1896.

Brandberg in Kaokoland and [248] is suspected in other places that are known only to the natives. The Hottentot cuts the serpentine with his knife and makes pipes. He uses as a model for these pipes the ones that can be easily made from the marrow bones of middle-sized mammals and which are used when the stone is not available. This bone pipe, !ha/i-b, is used a great deal. The part where the marrow 324 276

Proceeding from the conviction that it is extremely important, 538
in order to understand the intellectual activity, specifically of a peo- 128
ple of low cultural niveau, to comprehend the manner of their conceptualization and the rules by which they combine concepts in the form of images and judgments, I have added to each text an exegesis explaining vocabulary and grammar; this should enable the reader to check the translation word for word. For these texts are to be considered as documents of the Hottentot mind that require deciphering. Anyone who wishes first to read through a tale in coherent German will soon get used to following the German text as a unit and skipping over the explanations that are printed in italics and set in parentheses.

In a purely linguistic connection the following remarks must be made about the texts:

The jackal as well as the baboon are frequently portrayed in the [522]
stories as having a speech defect, and by this alone they produce a comical effect upon the Hottentot listener. Either these animals are caused [391] (if they are being stamped as comical figures) to pronounce no clicks, and instead mutilate the words in question with irregularly unarticulated sounds; or else they are made to repeat one and the same click throughout entire sentences, whether in the right place or not. I always had such intentionally perverted passages repeated to me in correct Nama, and I reproduce them here in this form.

In order to avoid repetition in the text analyses (wherever this is 538
possible without detracting from clarity), the following points are 128
mentioned here in advance once and for all: 193

a) In Hottentot the subject is frequently indicated only by the personal suffixes of the third person (see for example Folk tale XVI). Wherever it turned out to be unclear or clumsy to use a corresponding pronoun as a substitute, I generally simply repeated in the translation the noun of the preceding sentence. The personal suffixes of the third person are in the nominative:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Masculine	-b, -i (after m and n)	-kχa	-gu
euphonic	-ba, -a		-ga
Feminine	-s	-ra	-ti
euphonic	-sa		-te
Neuter	-ǃ	-ra (♂ + ♀)	-n
euphonic	-ǃe		-na

538 b) The most common auxiliary verbs, also called verbal particles,
128 are:
193 i used very generally.
a and gye, when they stand alone designate the present.
go and gye gye designate recent and more distant past.
nĩ designates the future.
ra (euphonic ta) designates a progressive action.
hã designates a condition.

c) Direct discourse is frequently introduced in Hottentot only by tsĩ with the personal suffix of the speaker added. At the end of the speech there are the words ti go mĩ, that is "so said he" (she or it, etc.). In translation these words are frequently more comprehensible if they are placed at the beginning and often I have used the substantive, not simply the pronoun, as subject.

d) The common conjunctions o and tsĩ I have translated according to context as: "and, now, then, thereupon," etc.

[392] Whenever the Hottentot lists a number of objects or persons (even though there are only two), he always adds at the end, to sum it up, the conjunction tsĩ with the personal suffix of the listed persons in the dual or plural and in the masculine, feminine or neuter. Thus: /gĩrib tsĩ χami tsĩ ǂhĩras tsĩna, that is: "the jackal and the lion and the hyena and they." I have not reproduced this summing-up particle in the translation.

e) I propose to designate a peculiarity of the Hottentot narrative style as the "narrative passive." Instead of saying: tsĩs gye go ǂnãĩ, that is "and she danced," the Hottentot, in the context of the story, likes to say: tsĩ gye go ǂnãhe (-he, passive ending), that is "dancing was done," [Translator's note: "und es wurde getanzt": English has no equivalent for this impersonal passive.] whereby the subject of the preceding sentence is imagined personally with all definiteness although it is not indicated in the passive sentence itself by any suffix.

If the subject of the sentence is a substantive, then in the narrative passive construction it is frequently (but not always!) followed by the word χa. In this case one can regard χa as the preposition "of" and might accordingly translate the sentence: /gõati χa i gye gye sarihe, literally as: "by the girls it was gone walking" [Von den Mädchen wurde spazieren gegangen]. But whenever this χa can be

dropped and is replaced by a demonstrative personal suffix, this formal adjustment of the German to Hottentot (for lack of anything better) is not possible. 538 128 193

I have translated all constructions of the narrative passive as active clauses with a definite subject.

f) The words of the translation that were added for better understanding or in order to avoid unnecessary roughness in the translation, although no word in the Hottentot text corresponds to them are set in brackets [ ].

The folk tales of the Hottentots can be grouped in five classes:

a) Adventures in the Wilderness 538

In the remote interior of the land lives, in the folk tale world, a fabulous beast that the Hottentots call ǂaiǂgā/mũǂxab, because its eyes (mũǂti) are not in its face but on the back (ǂgā/b) of its feet (ǂaiti). The being is thought of in a manlike shape, walking upright, and hence with eyes directed towards the sky. If it wants to see what is happening on the ground, it must lie down on all fours: on its extended arms in front and on its knees in the rear. [393] Then it raises one knee and bends it as far as it can until the back of the foot with its eye is looking backward horizontally. These fabulous beasts live together harmoniously and hunt down human beings, whom they take for zebras, in order to tear them apart with their finger-long sharp teeth that mesh like those of a predatory animal. Thus they are also called ǂkχoe-oren (kχoeb "man," ǂo-re "to run up and devour the buried prey"). The man-eating female has in addition the special name ǂ/gaũ-ǂbes. In the adventures with the Aigamucha people (Folk tales I to VI) the Hottentot does not adhere in detail so strictly to the above-mentioned characteristics that he ascribes to these man-eaters; generally he has them appear so manlike that they can deceive their prey as to their true character until escape seems impossible. The discovery of the foot-eyes of the Aigamuchab is the achievement of the jackal (Folk tale VI).

The manifold Experiences While Wandering (Folk tales VII to XII) are comprehensible without commentary.

Only a few Hunting Adventures (Folk tales XIII and XIV) that deserve to be considered as folk tales reached my ears. The one hunting adventure (Folk tale XIV) is tied to the name of /gu-rikχoeseb,

X539

the fat-pot (//gubusa) of the people. But the people came back while (hĩa) the jackal was still (hã "to remain") at (doba) the hut. Then the man (aoba) of the hut asked (tẽ): "Of which (mã) district (!ãb) are you the jackal?" (-ta personal suff. of the 2nd pers. sing. masc., nominative)* Then the

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*The word ǂumi "so," which is frequently attached to direct discourse, has merely the function of summing up, in contrast to the conjunction goma, which has an imperative sense. "Mã !ab gǂritsa goma" would mean: "Where do you come from? Answer! That's my command."

jackal answered (!eraam): "I (-ta) [am] the jackal from the arobush district. [The fruit] of the aro tree (-na, ending of the neut. pl.) I eat (ǂuta), from the hari bush I eat, from the au bush I eat, yes indeed (gumo)!"*

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*The ǂa-ros bush is Zisyphus mucronatus Willd. (Rhannaceae). ǂhari-s is Royena pallens Thbg. (Ebenaceae). ǂaũ's is Grewia flava D.C. (Tiliaceae). The jackal lives indeed from the berrylike fruit of these bushes, among other things.

Repetition. Then:

Thereupon the man said (mĩ): "Let (ẽ, imperative particle) me (-ta) see (gõ) you (-tsi) excrete (ǂau)." Thus (ti) he says. Then the jackal excreted aroberries. And the man asked again:

Repetition of the question and demand.

And the jackal excreted hari berries. Then the man asked:

Repetition of the question and demand.

And the jackal excreted au berries and [again] the man asked: "Of what place are you the jackal?" And the jackal answered: "I am the jackal of the aro district. I eat aro berries, I eat hari berries, I eat au berries, yes indeed!"

Repetition. Then:

And the man said: "Let me see you excrete." Then the jackal excretes fat, and the man caught (!kxõ) him (bi). But the jackal cried: "My (ti) grandfather (//naob), hold me differently." (!kxõ "to seize," unu "to turn around," !gã "backwards"). And the man seized him differently. Then

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Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape.

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron.

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail.

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and

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consonants, or nasal clicks alone often form complete syllables and whole words. Generally, however, syllables are made up of either (*a*) a consonant or consonant combination with following vowel or diphthong, or (*b*) a consonant or consonant combination, a vowel or diphthong, and a terminal consonant, which is invariably a nasal. Very many syllables commence with a click, and the quick succession of these clicks in speech is an outstanding feature in all the languages.

The variation of the musical pitch of the syllable is another most important feature of the Khoisan languages. Many words, phonetically alike, but bearing different meanings, are differentiated tonetically, the tone distinction being their only distinguishing feature in speech. Five significant tone levels have been discovered—high level, mid level, low level, falling, and rising. What part, if any, tone inflexion plays in syntax, in showing the relation of one idea to another, either expressed or unexpressed, is as yet quite uncertain. In this respect, as in many others, a good deal of work still remains to be done in the phonetic investigation of these languages.

Grammatical Processes

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Grammatical categories and syntactic relationships are expressed in a variety of ways, some of which are common to all the languages, while others are found in only a few of them. The main grammatical processes employed in all the Khoisan languages may be classified as follows: (*a*) the modification of the form of the radical element by (1) the use of a complex apparatus of suffixes, (2) the reduplication of the radical element, and (3) composition, the uniting into a single word of two or more different radical elements; (*b*) the extensive use of grammatical words or "auxiliary particles"; and (*c*) word order, the combination in a definite sequence of two or more denotative concepts to provide a new denotative concept.

(*a*) The radical elements of Khoisan words are to a very large extent, if not altogether, monosyllabic, and any additional elements can usually be shown to have a functional significance. Prefixes are altogether lacking, and infixes very few; the principal mechanism for modifying the form of the radical element so as to express a new denotative concept lies in the employment of suffixes.

(1) The apparatus of suffixes is very complex, and they are used for many different purposes. In some cases, although it is clear that the second syllable of a word is a suffixed element, it is difficult to determine the function of this suffix. As an illustration we may take

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the suffix *-kən*, *-gən* or *ŋ* found in the Southern Bushman languages (the different forms are due to phonetic sound changes). This suffix is separable from, i.e. is not always part of, the radical element, but can never occur by itself as an entity: when it does occur, it always forms part of a word. With substantives it is used to form the emphatic nominative. It is also used, however, with verbs, but in such cases it is by no means clear what function it fulfils. Similarly we find words in all the languages which invariably occur with the suffixed endings *-ra*, *-ri*, *-ro*, *-ru*, and so on, but here again no definite significance can as a rule be discovered for these suffixes.

Certain suffixes must now be regarded as *passive*, i.e. they occur only in certain words, never in any others, even although no special meaning can be ascribed to them. In */Xam*, e.g. there are very many words always found with what is clearly the suffixed ending *-ru*, as in *//kuru*, stone knife, */xuru*, crow, *thuru*, to pluck; but the suffix here does not seem to have any determinate significance, nor is it actively employed to modify other radical elements.

Opposed to these we have the *active* suffixes, i.e. suffixes which can be added freely to any radical element, and which have a definite significance. In */Xam*, e.g. the suffix *-ko* has an alternative function: */aiti*, woman, */aitiko*, another woman; *tuu*, mouth, *tuuko*, another mouth. In */Khũ* the suffix *-ma* is used to form the diminutive, e.g. */kaŋ*, tree, */kaŋma*, little tree. In *Hie*, *-re* is used to form the plural, e.g. *kxam*, lion, *kxamre*, lions. In *Nama* the endings *-b*, *-s*, and *i* are used to indicate the sexual gender of the substantive, e.g. *khoib*, man, *khois*, woman, *khoii*, human being. These selected illustrations will serve to indicate briefly how the suffixes are employed.

An interesting feature is the fact that suffixes which are passive in one language may be active in another. Thus, while *-ru* is passive in */Xam*, in *Nama* it may be added to verbal roots to indicate returning motion, as in *//a*, to go, *//aru*, to go back, to return.

Active suffixes are employed in all the languages with both substantives and verbs, as well as with other parts of speech. In substantives they are used to modify the meaning of the radical element so as to express such concepts as plurality, diminution, agency, sex (in *Nama* and *Naron* only), and negation: while in verbs they are employed to denote duration, mood, reflexion, reciprocation, etc. It is only in exceptional cases (as in */Xam* and *Hie*) that they are used for forming tenses.

This extensive use of suffixes is one of the most characteristic

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features in the grammatical mechanisms of the Khoisan languages, and the number of different suffixes as well as of the variety of uses to which they are put is exceedingly great.

(2) Reduplication of the radical element of a word is also of frequent occurrence. As an active grammatical process it is most marked in the Southern Bushman Group, especially in */Xam*, where it is the principal mechanism for forming the plural of substantives, and is also used with verbs to indicate causality or to give them a transitive meaning. In the Northern and Central Bushman languages and in *Nama* its chief function is to give the verb a causative significance; it is hardly ever used as a means of forming the plural. In all the languages, however, many words also occur in a permanently reduplicated form, where no apparent significance can be attached to the reduplication, i.e. it has become passive.

(3) Composition—the uniting into a single word of two or more radical elements—is another frequent mechanism. Its most usual form of occurrence is verb + verb, the second verbal root modifying the meaning of the first in some way, generally so as to indicate some sort of direction. Thus in */Xam* the two roots */kau*, to cut, and */hiŋ*, to go out, can be combined to form the new word */kau/hi(ŋ)*, to cut out, while in Nama we find similarly */guŋ*, to stride, and *bee*, to move away, combined into */guŋbee*, to go away; *uri*, to spring, and *ǂga*, to go home, combined into *uriǂga*, to leap into; and so on.

(*b*) Another characteristic feature of the Khoisan languages lies in the extensive use of grammatical words or auxiliary particles as a grammatical mechanism. These particles are most generally used to modify the significance of verbal roots, and two classes may be distinguished, according to their mode of occurrence and function.

(1) The verbal root is as a rule unaltered, save when such concepts as duration, mood, reciprocation are to be expressed. In such cases, as already indicated, suffixes are added to the radical element. Tense, however, is most frequently indicated by particles preceding the verbal root. These particles can never be used alone; they always occur before a verbal root, and their function always is to indicate tense. Thus in *Auen* the root of the verb remains unchanged throughout, and when used alone without any qualifying particles denotes the present or indefinite time. Other tenses are formed by the use of auxiliary particles preceding the verbal root, e.g. *ko*, *ku* (past tense), *ka* (future), *re*, *ore* (continuous action), etc. Similarly in */Xam* we have *haa* (past tense), */ne* (in narrative), *se*, *ka* (future), while in

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Nama there are *ta* (present time), *go* (recent time), *ni* (future), *gje* (perfect), etc.

(2) The second class consists of what may be termed *post-positions*, i.e. they invariably follow the word whose meaning they qualify. Their main function is to indicate direction. Thus in */Khũ* the particle *daŋ*, when it follows a verb, means "under"; */hare*, between; */a*, in front of; while in *Naron* we have */oo*, among, inside, *k'e*, on, upon, etc.

The number of these particles is extremely great, and their functions manifold. As a mechanism they are extensively used, and much of the difficulty in translating the Khoisan languages lies in the very abundance of them. It should be noted that they differ from prefixes or suffixes in that they do not immediately precede or follow the radical element whose meaning they qualify, but may be separated from it by the intervention of other words.

(*c*) Word order as a mechanism is more marked in some of the languages than in others. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups, and to some extent in *Hie*, word order is of great importance in determining meaning, as there is here no formal distinction between e.g. substantives and verbs, or between cases. In *Naron* and *Nama*, on the other hand, where such distinctions do occur, the order of words is not so significant.

There are two features perhaps calling for special mention in this connection. These are (1) the distinction between junction and nexus, and (2) the expression of the genitive or possessive relationship. The significance of word order in the first instance is best seen in */Khũ*, where, in junction, the attribute precedes the substantive, e.g. *gai gaoxa*, the good chief, while in nexus the order of words is reversed: *gaoxa gai*, the chief is good. The other languages usually add auxiliary particles to indicate nexus, but we may compare, in *Hie*, *//koo hũ*, the large tree, with *hũ e kwa //koo*, the tree is large.

In the genitive relationship the rule in all the languages is that the word denoting the possessor precedes the word denoting the object possessed. Generally a connecting particle is interpolated between the two words. In the Northern Bushman Group, however, there are no connecting particles, the relationship being indicated purely by apposition; hence, in */Khũ*, we have *gaoxa ʧu*, the chief's hut, but *ʧu gaoxa* would be "the hut's chief". In */Xam* also the connecting particle is omitted before certain kinds of substantive, so that we get simply *toi /ku*, ostrich's feather; cf. Nama, *//gũb /ons*,

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father's name. Here the importance of word order in determining meaning is clearly shown.

Syntax

Parts of Speech. There is no formal distinction between parts of speech in any of the Bushman languages save *Naron*. It is generally impossible to determine merely from the form of the word what part of speech it is, although it may be noted that clicks most often occur in substantives and verbs, and that pronouns, auxiliaries, and words in perpetual use rarely have them. It is chiefly from the position of a word in a sequence that we are able to distinguish its nature. Often the nature of the suffix, if there is one, enables us to some extent to determine whether a word is a substantive or a verb. Thus, in *!Khū, igaŋma*, little tree, is recognizable as a substantive, because it has the diminutive suffix *-ma* used only with substantives; on the other hand, *s'aagwe*, to hear one another, is recognizable as a verb, because of the reciprocal verbal suffix *-gwe*. These distinctions, however, are due to secondary factors, and it is evident that from the form of the actual radical element no such distinctions of parts of speech can be made.

In *Naron* and the Hottentot languages there is the same lack of formal distinction between parts of speech. In these languages, however, substantives are nearly always recognizable by the fact that they have the sex-endings added to them. All substantives must have one or other of these endings, according to their gender, so that their nature can readily be recognized. In other parts of speech, however, it is not possible to distinguish between words save by their position in the sentence or by the presence of formal elements having a grammatical function peculiar to certain parts of speech.

Gender. Distinction of sex is formally recognized and expressed only in the Hottentot languages and in Naron, where there is a regular classification of all substantives into three grammatical sex-genders: masculine, feminine, and common. The gender is shown by the form of the suffix. In *Naron* the suffixes employed are *-ba* for the masc. sing. (shortened to *-b* in proper names), and *-sa* or *-se* (shortened to *-s* in proper names) for the fem. sing. There is no special suffix for the com. sing. Thus *kwe*, human being; *kweba*, man; *kwesa*, woman. In *Nama* the suffixes are *-b* for the masc. sing.; *-s* for the fem. sing.; and *-i* for the com. sing. Hence *khoii*, human-being; *khoib*, man; *khois*, woman. These suffixes in both languages change

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for the dual and plural. The forms they then assume will be noted under "Number".

In all the other Bushman languages there is no sex-gender of this kind. To distinguish sex, when necessary, the word for "man" or "woman" is used to qualify the primary substantive. In the Southern and Northern Bushman languages these qualifying words follow the substantive. Thus in */Xam*, *toi*, ostrich → *toi gwai*, cock ostrich; *toi /aiti*, hen ostrich; in */Khũ*, */kui*, ostrich → */kui //gɔ*, cock ostrich, and */kui di*, hen ostrich. In *Hie* they precede the substantive: *tʃo*, person → *kautʃo*, man, and *//gaitʃo*, woman. This mechanism is occasionally employed in *Nama* also where it is necessary to indicate sex in substantives having the common gender; e.g. */gwai*, child → *aore /gwai*, boy, and *tarare /gwai*, girl.

The Naron and Hottentot classification of substantives according to sex is, strictly speaking, found only in such cases where there is a natural distinction between the sexes, i.e. in the case of persons and animals. Other substantives, where no natural sex distinction is present, make use of the same suffixes, but here the classification is based on a different principle, which may be defined as that of quality. All substantives denoting objects which are strong, big, tall, or narrow take the masculine ending, while those denoting objects which are weak, small, low, or broad take the feminine ending. Thus in *Naron*, *hi* is any plant, but *hiba* (masc.) is a tree, and *hisa* (fem.) a low broad bush. Similarly in *Nama*, *gõab* (masc.) is a sword or big long knife, while *gõas* (fem.) is a pocket knife; */úib*, mountain, but */úis*, hillock, koppie. The same distinction between objects according to quality is found in */Xam*, although the mechanism for expressing it is different. Thus *toi gwai* may mean "big or strong ostrich" as well as "cock ostrich", and *toi /aiti* "weak or small ostrich, as well as "hen ostrich".

Number. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups and in *Hie* only two numbers are clearly recognized; in *Naron* and in the Hottentot Group, however, there is also a dual number. The distinction of number in all these languages applies almost entirely to substantives and pronouns only, and in a few cases to adjectives also; the verb as a rule remains unaltered in form, no matter what the number of the governing substantive may be.

In the method of forming plurals, */Xam* differs considerably from all the other Khoisan languages. Its plurals are formed chiefly by

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reduplication of the singular, either in full or contracted form; e.g. */kou*, stone; */koukən*, stones; *ti or tikən*, thing → *tikəntikən*; *//go//go*, whirlwind → *//gogən//gogən*; */kwitən*, jackal → */kwi!kwi*. In a few cases a plural ending is added either to the root or to the reduplication; such endings are *-gu*, only used for people (e.g. *mama*, mother → *mamagu*) *-dī* or *-de*, *-kən*, *-gən*, or *-ten*. A very few substantives remain unchanged in the plural.

In all the other Khoisan languages (including the other members of the Southern Group) the bulk of the plurals are formed by adding a special suffix to the singular. The chief plural suffixes are: in *Auen*, *-si*, e.g. */num*, stone, */numsi*, stones; in */Khū*, *-siŋ*, *-ŋ*, e.g. *gaoxa*, chief, *gaoxasiŋ*, chiefs; in *Hie*, *-re* or *-ra*, e.g. *kxam*, lion, *kxamre*, lions. In *Naron* and *Nama* the form of the suffix differs with the gender of the substantive. In *Naron* we have *-ʧi* or *-//kwa* (masc.; the latter is used only with men or personified animals); *-ʃi* (fem.), and *-ni* (common). Hence *kwe*, person → *kwe//kwa*, men, *kweʃi*, women, and *kwene*, people. In *Nama* the plural suffixes are: *-gu* (masc.), *-ti* (fem.), and *-n* (common), so that *khoii*, person → *khoigu*, men; *khoiti*, women; and *khoin*, people.

In all the Bushman languages the plural ending may be dropped with the numeral "two"; e.g. in */Khū*, *gome*, ox → *gomesiŋ*, oxen, but *gome tsa*, two oxen. Only in *Naron* and in the Hottentot languages is a special dual ending added; in *Naron* this is *-ʧera-* (masc.), *-ʃera* (fem.), and *-khara* (common), e.g. *kweʧera*, two men, *kweʃera*, two women, and *kwekhara*, two people; while in *Nama* it is *-kha* (masc.) and *-ra* (fem. and com.), e.g. *khoikha*, two men; *khoira*, two women; *khoira*, two people.

Person. All the Khoisan languages recognize three classes of persons, corresponding to the person speaking, the person spoken to, and the person or thing spoken of, which they express by means of personal pronouns both singular and plural (in *Naron* and Hottentot also dual). There is no verbal declension in any of these languages; the class of person is ascertainable only from the personal pronoun. The Southern and Northern Groups and *Hie* make no distinction in the form of the pronoun according to the sex of the person; the first and second personal pronouns, that is, may be either masculine or feminine, the third personal pronoun masculine, feminine, or neuter, the gender being determinable only by the context, not by the form of the pronoun. The only exception recorded to this rule is in *Auen*, where the personal pronouns have no forms for the

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masculine and feminine in the singular, but distinguish them in the plural, thus:

mihi, mi, I	*e !ka,* we (masc.)	*ehe, e,* we (fem.)
ahi, a, thou	*i !ka,* you (m.)	*ihi, i,* you (f.)
hai, ha, he, she, it	*si !ka,* they (m.)	*sia, si,* they (f.)

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In *Naron*, on the other hand, there are really only four fundamental forms for pronouns, viz. *ti* for the first person singular, *si* or *ʃi* for the first person plural, *sa* for the second person, and *xa* for the third person. Features such as gender and number are denoted by the addition of special suffixes similar to those employed for the same purposes with substantives.

In *Nama*, again, it would seem that a fundamental distinction is made between persons present (i.e. speakers and hearers) and those not present and spoken of (third person), for in the former case the radical element is *sa* or *si*, person, number, and gender being distinguished by the use of special suffixes, while in the latter it is *//ēī*, which is treated just like a substantive, i.e. to it are added the regular substantival suffixes for gender and number.

In the Southern Group and in *Nama* there are two forms for the pronoun in the first person plural, one form including the person addressed with the speaker, the other excluding him. In */Xam*, e.g., the inclusive form of the pronoun is *i*, the exclusive form *si*; while in Nama, where we have the following forms,

Dual masc., *sakhum, sikhum* ;	fem. *sam, sim* ;	common, *sam, sim*
Plur. m., *sagye, sigye* ;	f., *saze, size* ;	c., *sada, sida*

the forms beginning with *sa* are inclusive, those with *si* exclusive.

This distinction between inclusive and exclusive forms does not appear to exist at all in any of the Northern and Central Bushman languages.

Possession. The possessive relationship in all the Khoisan languages is indicated by the fact that the qualifying substantive (possessor) precedes the primary substantive (possessed). In the Southern Group the two are connected by one of the particles *ka, ga, ta*, according to the sound following; in the Northern Group there is no such possessive particle; in the Central Group it is *dhe* in *Hie*, but is more often omitted, and *di* in *Naron*, just as in *Nama*. In certain cases these particles may be omitted, usually when the possessive relationship applies to relatives or parts of the body. The following renderings for "the man's hut" in the different languages will illustrate the general uniformity in the mode of expressing this relationship:

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/Xam.	*gwai-ka //nei̯* (but *gwai k'a*, the man's arm).
Auen.	*!kwa tʃ'u.*
/Khũ	*!ku tʃ'u*
Hie	*kautʃo dɹu.*
Naron	*kwem-di |nuuʃa.*
Nama	*khoib-di omi* (but *khoib //gũb*, the man's father).

In each case the word for "man" precedes that for "hut"; in */Xam*, *Naron*, and *Nama* there is a connecting particle, but not in the other languages.

A few words may be added regarding the modifications undergone by the personal pronominal forms to indicate the genitive relationship. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups there is no special form for the possessive pronoun, which is treated just like the substantive, e.g. in */Xam*, *ŋ-ka //nei̯*, my hut, but *ŋ oa*, my father, and *ŋ k'a*, my arm; while in */Khũ* we have *ha tʃu*, his hut. In *Hie*, however, there are special forms for the third personal pronouns: instead of *ehe*, he, she, it, we find *em*, his, her, its, and instead of *ere*, they, we have *thau eko*, their. In Naron the possessive pronouns for the first and second person singular are the radical forms for the personal pronouns, *ti* and *sa*, used as a rule without any ending. The possessive pronoun for the first person plural is either *sita* or *sita-di*, irrespective of gender; the second person plural would probably be formed with *-di*, although it hardly occurs, while the third person is treated in the same way as a substantive, always forming the genitive with the connecting particle *-di*. For example, *ti hooba*, my husband; *sa |kwa*, your child; *sita !nuu*, our country; *xam-di !nu*, his hut. In *Nama* there is sometimes no alteration of the pronominal form, save that in the first and second persons sing. the shortened forms *ti*, my, and *sa*, your, are used instead of *tita*, I, and *sats* or *sas*, you. Sometimes, however, a special possessive pronoun is used, formed by adding the personal suffixes to the particle *ã*; thus, *ãta*, my; *ãts*, your (masc.), *ãs*, your (fem.), etc. There is no modification of the pronominal form to agree with the sex or number of the object possessed, except in certain cases where the first personal possessive pronoun is placed after the substantive it qualifies. As a rule the possessive pronoun precedes the primary substantive, sometimes in direct apposition, without the connecting particle, as in *sa haab*, your horse, sometimes, however, with it, as in the alternative form *sa-di haab*.

Junction. The relationship between substantive and adjective is generally expressed by pure apposition, but there are variant forms in the different languages. In */Xam* the rule is that the attribute

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follows the substantive it qualifies: */k'e /kwiija*, the clever man. Often, however, the attribute is preceded by the relative particles *aa* (sing.) or *ee* (plur.): */k'e aa /kwiija*, the clever man (lit. man who clever). Most attributes have the same form in sing. and plur., i.e. they undergo no modification for number; but attributes of size have separate forms in the plural: *//kho /kuiija*, the large bag, but *//kho//kho /kuii/kuiita*, large bags; */k'e //kxowa*, the tall man, but */kwitən //kxo//kxoka*, tall men.

In *Auen* the few adjectives follow the substantives they qualify, and are not declined: */nwi ʒee*, new moon; */nwi ɬesi*, full moon. So, too, in */Khũ*, they generally follow it, as in */ganu dʒee*, new arm-ring, *tʃi /naa*, big thing; but sometimes they precede it, as in *gai gaoxa*, good chief. They undergo no modification in form for the plural: *gai gaoxasiŋ*, good chiefs.

In *Hie* the attribute invariably precedes the substantive, and remains unaltered in the plural: *//koo hii*, a large tree; *//koo hire*, large trees. In *Nama*, and apparently also in *Naron*, the attribute generally precedes the substantive, and in such cases undergoes no modifications in form: */kxuha khoib*, a rich man; *gei tarás*, a big woman; *gei khoigu*, big men. If, however, it is desired to emphasize the attribute, it may follow the substantive, and in such cases takes the corresponding endings for gender and number: *aob geib*, a big man; *khoigu geigu*, big men; *tarati geiti*, big women.

Tense. The notion of time in all the Khoisan languages is to a very large extent expressed mainly by means of special auxiliary particles, which generally precede the verbal root, except in *Naron* and *Nama*, where an inverted form is found, of which mention will be made below. In a few instances the verbal stem itself may be modified by the use of special suffixes to indicate tense, but such occurrences are rare.

In */Xam* the verbal stem as a rule remains unmodified. Suffixation is, however, occasionally found, the main temporal suffixes being *-i*, indicating continuous action, and *-a*, *-ja*, or *-wa* used to denote completed action. Generally tense is expressed by means of auxiliary particles preceding the verbal stem; thus */ku* expresses continuous or repeated action, */ne* is used as a narrative past, *se* and *ka* express futurity, *siŋ* completed action, *haa* the remote past, *oa* corresponds to our pluperfect, etc.

In *Auen* there are no suffixes for tense. The root of the verb always remains unchanged, and used alone signifies present or

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indefinite time. Other tenses are formed by verbal particles preceding the root, such as *ko*, *ku* (past tense), *ka* (future), *re*, *o*, *ti* (narrative), *a* (repetition of tense in preceding clause), *o* (present, or an unfinished action). In */Khũ* only one temporal suffix seems to occur, *-a*, which denotes habitual action with all tenses. Otherwise auxiliary particles are used which precede the verbal root: *o*, *ti* (present narrative), *go*, *gu* (past), *ga* (future).

E.g. (Auen) *miki /nĩ*, I stay.
a o !goo, we are sitting.
ha ko uu kurikwa, he has gone to Kurikwas.
ha ka ts'a, he will sleep.
(!Khũ) *na ti u*, I go.
na go sig, I saw.

In *Hei* there appears to be a clear distinction between completed and incompleted action, seen by the fact that in the former case the suffix *-aha* is always attached to the verb. Closer distinctions in tense are, as in the other languages, made by means of particles preceding the verb: *ka* . . *kwa* (past), *na* (future), *kwa* (narrative).

E.g. *tʃi kwa //gam*, I love;
tʃi na //gam, I shall love;
ka tʃi kwa //gam, I loved;
tʃi //gamaha, I have loved;
tʃi ka //gamaha, I had loved;
tʃi na //gamaha, I shall have loved.

Apart from this suffixing of *-aha* there is no alteration of the verbal root for tense.

In *Naron*, similarly, verbal roots do not alter for tense, which is expressed by placing auxiliary particles before or after the verbal root. Thus *tira ma*, I give; *tira ko ma*, I have given; *tira ka ma*, I shall be giving; *ma ra ko*, I am giving; *ma ra ka*, I shall be giving. The inversion of word order found in the last two examples is an alternative form, which can be employed with all the tenses; in such cases only the ending of the pronoun is used, not the full form, and the verbal root stands at the head of the sentence. This usage is not found in any of the other Bushman languages, but also occurs in Hottentot.

In *Nama* the employment of suffixes to denote habitual or continuous action is well marked, but it should be noted that the suffixes are attached not to the verbal stem, but to the auxiliary particles; e.g. *-ro* is used for the imperfect: *tita goro mũ*, I used to see; and *-re* for the perfect and pluperfect: *tita gjere ṃũ hã ĩ*, I had the habit of seeing. The following is a list of the more important particles:

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ta (present time): *sats ta mũ*, you see. After a vowel, *ta* → *ra*: *tita ra mũ*, I see.

go (recent time): *tita go mũ*, I have seen. The order of words is sometimes reversed, as in Naron, the verb being placed first in the sentence: *mũ ta go*, I have seen.

gje, *gjegje* (perfect): *tita gje mũ*, or *mũ ta gje*, I saw.

ni (future): *tita ni mũ*, or *mũ ta ni*, I shall see.

hã ĩ, when placed after the perfect form of the verb, forms the pluperfect: *tita gje mũ hã ĩ*, I had seen: when placed after the future, it forms the future perfect: *tita ni mũ hã ĩ*, I shall have seen.

In addition to these auxiliary particles there are in all the languages adverbs which have a temporal significance, and which are roughly equivalent to our "soon", "later", "yesterday", "to-day", etc. There do not appear to be any formative elements present in these words. Their occurrence should, however, be noted, as indicating that temporal concepts may find expression in other ways than by the use of special particles or suffixes; but these words belong to the vocabulary rather than to the grammar. The idea of time is implicit in their meaning, and is not indicated by any formal process.

Nexus. (*a*) *Copula.*—

In */Xam*, as has been shown, the attribute in junction generally follows directly upon the substantive, with no connecting particle. In copula the order of words is the same, but there is as a rule a connecting word, which may be either the particle *a* or *e* ("verb to be") or one of the verbal auxiliaries of tense; e.g. *hi /ku /hoakən*, they are black; *ha xukən siŋ /hoaka*, his face was black. In the present tense, however, there may frequently be no connecting particle at all: *si kx'ao*, we are cold; *h̄ akən*, they are handsome. Where the predicate is a substantive there is always a connecting particle: *//kxaŋ e !kwi*, the lion is a person.

In *!Khũ*, and apparently also in *Auen*, the predicative attribute always follows the substantive: cf. *gai gaoxa*, the good chief, with *gaoxa gai*, the chief is good. Where the predicate is an adjective there is no connecting particle at all, but where it is a substantive there is a special connecting word, *ua*; e.g. *na ua gaoxa*, I am a chief; *gaoxa ua baa*, the chief is a father.

In *Hie*, when an adjective is used predicatively, the primary substantive is connected to it by means of the personal pronoun and the auxiliary of tense; cf. *//koo hii*, a large tree, but *hii e kwa //koo*; *dzunje abare*, black dogs, but *abare ere kwa dzunje*, the dogs are black.

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That the connecting words may not always be present is seen from the following examples, but it will be noticed that the attribute always follows the primary substantive:

kxainje njaa, a cold wind; but *njaa kxainje*, the wind is cold.

haie dom, a swollen throat; but *tʃi dom haie*, my throat is swollen.

Where the predicate is a substantive, the connecting words are invariably present: */garo e kwa ǂkam*, the ostrich is king.

In *Nama* the predicative adjective is unaltered in form, but is always preceded by the verbal auxiliaries of tense; e.g. *gei khoib* or *khoib geib*, a big man, but *khoib gje a gei*, the man is big. The particle *a* here seems to correspond with that in */Xam*. Where the predicate is a substantive, it is regarded as an object, and accordingly takes the corresponding case-ending *-a*; e.g. *naaḃ gje gao-aoba*, this is the chief; *nees gje ti haasa*, this is my mare (cf. *gao-aob*, chief; and *haas*, mare).

(*b*) *Predication of Action to Substantive.*

In */Xam* the predicate always follows the substantive and undergoes no modification in form to correspond with the number or person of the subject (i.e. there is no verbal conjugation). As a rule the verbal auxiliaries of tense intervene, but in connected narrative these may be omitted; e.g. */kxwaŋ /ku-g /ne kwi*, the child said; *haŋ ha /kutən*, he formerly sang; but cf. also, */kxwaŋ kwi*, the child said; *kaŋ tum*, I listen; */kaukakən /kweĩ*, the children jumped for joy.

In */Khũ* also the verb is always unaltered in form and the order of words is the same as that in */Xam*. The personal pronouns have no special forms when used subjectively, though in the first person sing. the form *na* is generally used in preference to *mi*. The auxiliaries of tense may be used when necessary, but are often omitted, especially in connected discourse; e.g. *ha ti siŋ* or *ha siŋ*, he sees; *na go siŋ* or *na siŋ*, I had seen; *gaoxa go guu*, the chief took; *gaoxasiŋ go guu*, the chiefs took.

In *Hie* the same principle applies: there is no verbal conjugation, and the order of words is also subject + auxiliaries + main verb. Where, however, the subject is an animate object it often happens that the corresponding personal pronoun is added after the auxiliaries, and before the main verb; e.g. *tʃo ka ebe kwa //gam*, the man loved. The pronoun may, however, be omitted and only the verbal form expressed: *tʃo ka kawa //gam*. Where the subject is an inanimate object, this use of the personal pronoun is never found.

In *Nama* also there is no verbal conjugation. Two usages, however,

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are found with regard to the order of words. In the one, the subject, as in the Bushman languages, precedes the main verb; e.g. *tita ra mũ*, I see; *//ẽigu ra mũ*, they see. Sometimes, however, the main verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence. In such cases only the shortened form of the pronoun is used. It has already been mentioned that the radical elements of the personal pronouns are only three in number (*ti* for the first person sing.; *sa* and *si* for the second person sing., dual, and plur., and for the first person dual and plur.; and *//ẽi* for the third person), and that the distinctions according to sex and number are made by means of the regular personal suffixes added to these radicals. When the verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence, the radical elements are dropped from the pronominal forms, and only the personal suffixes are used to denote person as well as sex and number; e.g. *mũ ta rà*, I see; *mũ da ra*, we (com. gender) see. If the suffix consists of consonants only or of one vowel only, it is usually attached to the verbal root; e.g. *mũts ta*, you (fem. sing.) see; *mũs ta*, she sees; *mũn ta*, they (com. gender) see. Hence we can say either *//ẽib go mũ* or *mũb go*, he saw. A similar construction is found in *Naron*, but nowhere else in the Bushman languages.

Apart from this special construction the relation of Subject to Predicate is in *Nama* expressed in exactly the same way as in the Bushman languages.

Case. The consideration of case has been left over till now, because, as will be seen, the recognition of most case distinctions depends upon the relation between substantive and verb. What is usually termed the "genitive" case is a category of a different kind, and depends primarily upon the relation between two substantives. Generally speaking, it may be said that none of the Bushman languages has a special form for the objective case, save in a few personal pronouns, chiefly first person sing., but all except *Naron* have a second emphatic nominative. In the Southern Group this is found with pronouns and substantives of all kinds, and is usually expressed by means of the suffix *-kən*, *gən*, or *tən*. In the Northern Group and in *Hie* it occurs chiefly in the personal pronouns, which have a longer form in such cases; e.g. in the Auen pronouns, of the forms *mihi*, *mi* (first sing.), *ahi*, *a* (second sing.), *hai*, *ha* (third sing.), the longer forms are the emphatic nominative, the shorter either nominative or accusative. This emphatic nominative is apparently not found in *Nama*, which, on the other hand, has a special form for

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the accusative, thus showing its position as a language not entirely Bushman.

In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups there is no formal recognition of the accusative (objective) case save by rule of position: the object always follows, the subject always precedes, the main verb. The order of words in these languages is almost invariably Subject, Predicate, Object. In *Hie* there is also no special form for the objective case, and the object can usually only be determined by rule of position, which is the same as in the two preceding groups. In *Naron*, on the other hand, there is no special sequence of words, and consequently it is by no means easy to distinguish between Subject and Object, as they are not formally discriminated in any way. The Object often stands first in the sentence, and the words seem tossed together in haphazard fashion. It is only by the context of situation that the sentence can be correctly interpreted.

In *Nama* there is a distinctive objective case, formed by adding the suffix *-a* to the nominative form of the substantive; thus *khoib*, man, becomes *khoiba* in the objective: *mũ ta go khoiba*, I saw the man. Here, of course, the order of words is not so significant, as the object can always be recognized by the termination; hence we may find *khoiba ta go mũ* as an alternative form. The personal pronouns apparently take the same case ending. It may be noted that in the copula if the predicate is a substantive it also takes the objective case ending: *neeb gje khoiba*, this is the man. If the substantive which is the object of a sentence is qualified by an attribute, only the latter has the case ending; e.g. *khoib geiba ta go mũ* or *mũ ta go khoib geiba*, I saw the big man. In this recognition of a distinct objective case *Nama* differs decidedly from all the Bushman languages, including *Naron*, with which in other respects it has so many points of close resemblance.

In connection with the objective case may be mentioned briefly the *passive voice*, which has a reversive function and makes the grammatical object the most important element in the sentence. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups there is no real passive; in the Central Group, on the other hand, it can be formed by adding the suffix *-ee*, *-e* or *-he* to the active root; thus in *Hie*, *tʃi kwa //gam*, I love, but *tʃi kwa //gamee*, I am loved; while in *Naron*, *tira xau*, I cut, but *tira xaue*, I am cut. So, too, in *Nama* the ending *-he* attached to the active root makes it passive: *tita ra mũhe*, I am seen, etc.

There is no "dative case", but in most of the languages we find

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an " applicative " form of the verb which has an equivalent significance. In */Xam* this is formed by the addition of the suffix *-a* to the verbal root; in */Khũ* by means of the verbal suffix *-/a*; and in *Nama* by the use of the suffix *-ba*, e.g. *//aa*, to wash, *//aaba*, to wash for somebody. In sentences the " dative " may also be indicated by order of words, the general rule being that the indirect object precedes the direct object; e.g. in */Khũ, naa mi //ga*, give me a knife. The English rendering is a literal translation of the Bushman sentence.

The vocative case is formally expressed in all the Khoisan languages except *Hie*, a special suffix being added to the substantival root. In */Xam* the suffix is *-we*, e.g. *ibowe*, O father! */kaukənwe*, O children!; in */Khũ* it is *doa*, e.g. *tsau-(n)doa*, O woman!; and in *Naron* it is *dʒe*, e.g. *arugu-dʒe*, O dog! In *Nama* the vocative is expressed by means of special suffixes in the sing., and in the dual and plural by the alteration of the vowel in the suffixed gender ending; e.g. *khoib*, man; *khoitse*, O man! *khois*, woman; *khoise*, O woman! But *khoikha*, two men, becomes *khoikho* in the vocative; and *khoira*, two women, becomes *khoiro*; etc.

Word Order. Enough has already been adduced to show that the importance of word order differs in the various languages. In the Southern and Northern Groups the sequence of words in the sentence is fairly straightforward: the Subject precedes and the Object succeeds the Predicate. Where there are two objects the indirect generally comes before the direct. Attributes stand close to the substantives they qualify: in most cases they follow it in the Southern Group, while in the Northern Group they generally precede it. In *Hie* the order of words is not so rigid, and the object occasionally precedes the predicate. In *Naron* there is very little adherence to any fixed order: the whole sentence may be inverted, and combinations such as Object, Predicate, Subject, or Predicate, Subject, Object, or again Object, Subject, Predicate frequently occur, although the direct sequence of Subject, Predicate, Object is not impossible. In *Nama* also there is no rigid order of words, but this is compensated for by the fact that there is a special ending for the object, whereas in *Naron* the distinction between subject and object is often difficult to determine.

In all the languages of the Northern Group and in *Naron* the omission of the subject is frequent and confusing at times. If no subject at all is given, remarks Miss Bleek, the first person may be presupposed. " Saw a buck " may usually be translated " I saw a

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B H 193 buck". In connected narrative the subject is usually mentioned only once, and then not repeated; a second subject is repeated, but sentences or clauses without a subject refer back to the first subject, often long after it is last mentioned.

In the Southern languages, the sentences are generally fairly long and linked together by means of various conjunctions, while every verb has its subject expressed by means of a substantive or a pronoun. In *Nama* and to a lesser extent in *Hie* the same principle applies. In the Northern Bushman languages, and perhaps also in *Naron*, as far as one can judge, the sentences are usually short and strung together without conjunctions.

Note on Vocabulary

B H 192 The vocabularies of the Khoisan languages are necessarily very restricted along certain lines. Terms for abstract ideas are rare, and terms are of course lacking to indicate the many things not connected with the mode of life of the people. But in terms dealing with veld lore, wild animals, and birds, trees, herbs, and roots, the chase and all the wealth of description which that entails, the languages are remarkably rich.

A comparison of the vocabularies of the different languages shows that they have many words in common, and that even *Nama* shares a very large number of roots with one or other of the Bushman languages. Its greatest resemblances are with *Naron* and *Hie*, but many of its words occur in other Bushman languages also, sometimes in one, sometimes in another, even in the language spoken by the Lake Chrissie Bushmen of the Eastern Transvaal. There are, of course, many words in *Nama* which cannot be found in any of the other languages, but in the same way there are words in */Khũ* or */Xam* which are peculiar to these languages. Frequently synonyms are found in *Nama* of which one word is also present in the Bushman languages, while another is not. If the languages are arranged according to similarity of roots, the Central Group shows most affinity with *Nama*, the Northern Group has less resemblance and the Southern Group still less. There is, however, no sharp line of distinction. The languages of the Kakia *Masarwa* and of the *//nu//en*, both of which belong to the Southern Group, have more in common with the Northern Group than has */Xam*, and *Hie* is a veritable link between the Northern Group and *Naron*, which again is a step nearer *Nama*.

B H 192 197

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

197 een bedroeft klaaglied zingen, en vele zullen over de al te grote zwarigheden zodanig verschrikken, dat zij midden in 't werk zullen ophouden, en een ander ook overlaten zullen."

The description of all the authors of that time, who busied themselves with the problem of the Nama language tally with this one.

2. Since that time the Nama language has been specially investigated and written down by missionaries and the apparently insurmountable difficulties in learning the language have been overcome. To-day there is a series of dictionaries and grammar books of the language and Hottentots who read possess a small literature. They even buy a monthly periodical. It was principally the Rhenish Mission which, through its untiring efforts, has achieved such excellent results, that it can be said that, of all the dialects of the different Hottentot tribes, the Nama tribe and language have been studied best.

[214]

194 The difficulties experienced when one begins to study the language are due to the fact that the language possesses four clicks which are produced by pressing and snapping the tongue. If the organs of speech of the learner cannot adapt themselves to the production of these clicks even the most talented linguist will fail to give the idiom its correct pronunciation. But in spite of a well-articulated production of the peculiar sounds of this language one meets another threatening difficulty as one goes along, namely, the peculiar

● 193 syntax of the language, which is utterly different from the rules of European languages, so that the rule followed generally with beginners of thinking in the mother-tongue and quickly translating the thought into the foreign language, cannot be adhered to in the case of the Nama language. If one cannot think in the Nama language, one will never be able to learn to speak it.

194 3. It is remarkable that the difficult clicks of the Nama can be produced with the same ease as any other sounds and that European children playing with Nama children often pick up the language more quickly than their mother-tongue. It is notable, too, that numerous Bantu tribes have taken over clicks into their Bantu language. This indeed happened (according to the recent researches of Prof. C. Meinhoff) by the adoption of a whole Nama word which then became Bantu in its pronunciation and spelling, the click remaining unchanged.

197 4. In connection with the dialects of the Hottentots of the Cape Colony some notes made in the earlier days are available. The library of Sir George Grey especially contains many valuable manuscripts. When one examines these old documents and compares them with Nama that is still spoken, one receives the impression that these dialects are so

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

others, who boast that they have learned many things from the Hottentots. For in the first place the Hottentots lie, and, in the second, they are determined to keep their secret remedies to themselvs. They cure colic quickly by a certain aromatic root.[56]) They employ also a certain species of Datura, as I think, called dacha.[57]) This they bray carefully, and after braying, make it into balls and eat it, as many Mahomedans do with Amsion or opium. It makes them monstrous drunk.

The umbilical cord of a new born infant they tie firmly, but do not cut back. The cord falls off by itself after a time.[58]) These details I learned from a certain Hottentot woman. I could get no further information from any source.

CHAP. XXVII.

Their Language.

If one listens to them talking, one supposes the age of Pythagoras to have returned, in which birds were fabled to have enjoyed mutual converse in speech. In sober truth it is noise, not speech, if one attends to the mode of expression of the Hottentots; for every single word is finished by a noisy click of the tongue against the echoing palate. One would not be wrong in saying that this clicking of the tongue against the palate is the main element in the sounds, but that the linking of the sounds is fetched up from their deep chests, their lips being generally rounded. The result is that they are bereft of all interchange of speech with other races; nor after all this lapse of time can one of our countrymen be found who can converse perfectly with them. Those Hottentots, however, who have lived long in the neighbourhood of the Fort, adapt themselves to our countrymen, acquiring many Dutch terms, of which they modify the terminations. They end nearly all their borrowed words in *-kom*: as *tabaqkom*, tobacco; *kortom*, a little piece; *horom*, to hear, etc. Their vernacular does not contain many roots, but the words are enriched with affixes.

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[56]) Kolb likewise says that the umbilical cord is bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; the modern Hottentots tie it half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, then cut it through above the knot, and leave the part attached to the baby to fall away by itself (Schapera, op. cit., 264, 262).

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Thus all birds whatsoever are called *courcour*,[88]) with the addition of particular names, e.g. *camma courcour*, an aquatic bird, be it duck, or diver, or albatross, etc.; *sickom courcour*, a young bird, *sickom* being, as often with them, a corruption of a Dutch word; *grotom* (a similar corruption) *courcour*, a big bird, by which, however, they generally mean the ostrich. They also mingle a few English terms in their language from their former dealings with that people, e.g. the word *doggues* for dog.

Pure Hottentot words in general use are:—[89])

Onkey, Dutchman.	*chou*, air.
gamma, lion.	*Ecy*, fire.
acqua, horse.	*kou*, thunder.
ouka, wolf.	*doudou*, road.
nabba, rhinoceros.	*ey*, glass bead.
goedi, sheep.	*ninimos*, bronze bead.
boeba, ox or cow.	*equa*, wood.
debitja, steers.	*kiny*, war club.
ai tgoos, tortoises.	*sou*, pot.
dacha, soporific herb.	*bouchou*, plant ashes.
dini, honey.	

Corrupt Dutch words are numberless:

Bos maakem goet, gunpowder; *boebasibier*, milk; *karos*, a wrap; *krallen*, huts; and others too numerous to mention.

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[88]) Both Wreede (ca. 1663) and Kolb (1719), in their vocabularies of the Cape Hottentot language, give a variety of different names in use for different species of birds (these vocabularies are reprinted by Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, I, 213ff.), so that Ten Rhyne's observation is obviously incorrect.

[89]) Ten Rhyne's list of words, like other early vocabularies, omits the clicks and the sex endings. It is of interest to compare some of his renderings with those given for the same words by Wreede and Kolb for the Cape Hottentot language, and by Meinhof for Korana, which is a closely-allied language.

	Wreede.	*Kolb.*	*Meinhof.*
lion	TGamma	Chamma	xamni
horse	haoqua	haoqua	hab (pl. haku)
wolf (hyena)	Ouck'ha	touqva	ǀ hukhab
rhinoceros	tnabba	nabba	ǃ nabaa
sheep	goudie	ghoudie	gus
ox, cow	dwiessa	bubaa	gomab, -a
thunder	quô	quaouw	ǃ urub
wood	equa	hequa	—
honey	—	—	danis
war club, stick	—	Kirri	—
pot	—	—	aub

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

194 (iv) *k* and *g* are very loosely pronounced and *g* very often devoiced.

(v) An *ŋ* develops between the final nasal of a word and the initial click of the following word. This is specially observable in stereotyped word groups, such as tribal names ; *//aremŋ !ais ;* " the Links " *!Kuriŋ //ais,* " the Hoogstanders ;;' *|hãoŋ //ais,* " the Katmense " ; *|hũŋ //ais* the " Skerpioens." Also in proper names, e.g. *geiŋ !hareip* where there is however no preceding nasal in the isolated word. It is not so common otherwise, although heard in rapid speech occasionally, *geiŋ ≠a:s* " the big reed."

(vi) Clicks. The same indistinctness applies to the velar element of the click as to the isolated velars *k* and *g*. This is perhaps why individual observers differ so much in their notation of this velar element of the click. The Bloemhof Korana were, however, more careful when this element meant a semantic difference, e.g. *!garib,* " the Orange River," and *!karib,* " honey-beer, " and *!harib* " whip " ; *//kaeb,* " time," and *//kxaeθ* " law."

I observed no ejective velar affricate *kxˀ* after clicks, as Meinhof did for the Kat tribe dialect. In this I agree with Engelbrecht. Sometimes clicks are dropped, here again in stereotyped groups, *//aremŋ //ais* being a good example, < *//are* " left," + *//ðaeb,* " arm," *//ais* " tribe." This may happen also, but very seldom in rapid conversation.

(c) *Tones.*

Like all Hottentot dialects, the Bloemhof speech uses tones, which sometimes connote a semantic difference, e.g. */uib,* " stone," with a high tone, and */uib,* " father-in-law," with a low tone. I observed the recognised three tones, but I suspect that further investigation may reveal more. But as these may be bound up not with the word-tone, but with the sentence-tone, which exists very prominently in Korana, it would be premature to say anything further.

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

193 It is not always an easy matter to distinguish between the two in the language we are now considering.

Meinhof (p. 39) has rightly remarked that " die Kasusendungen sind also nicht denen indogermanischen Sprachen gleich zu setzen, da sie noch in der Entwicklung begriffen sind." The so-called case-endings in Hottentot are properly pronominal forms, just tacked on to the noun, more or less loosely and sometimes not at all. From what I can judge

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

by speaking to the Korana, they do not seem to have a very strong sense of these as case-endings. It is interesting in this connection, to examine carefully the lists of words of the 16th century old Cape dialect (cp. G. M. i. pp. 215-224). There is not, out of the many masculine nouns, a single one ending in *-b*, there are a few feminines ending in *-s*. There are a number of plural masculines ending in *-kwa*. This usage, in the case of isolated words, is fully confirmed by the texts we possess of the period (the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments, *Cape Monthly* 1858. 116-9). It might perhaps not be unreasonable to conjecture that the extensive use of these endings are a relatively modern development. 193

In our dialect, the *-b* is regularly dropped, in a number of cases, e.g. when *//haeb*, " time " is placed at the end of a temporal clause : *io kxᵒa kuna //hae, ina ≠geie*, " when they have drunk, they are called." But even in other connections, this omission is found, e.g. *!uri //kae*, " in the afternoon time." Frequent as this is, it is still almost one of the few fairly regular features of Korana.

Similarly with the tense-particle of the verbs, they are often left out, if we do not count *ina* as such. For this particle, properly expressing the present tense, becomes in the current usage of to-day a mere equivalent of " and." *Ta* is also regularly used to express the future. There is, in this respect, another interesting usage. Schultze, with his usual acumen, has already noted for Nama what he calls the Passivum narrativum (op. cit. 392). He says: " Statt zu sagen *tsis gye go ≠na*, d.h. " und sie tanzte," sagt der Hottentot in Zusammenhange der Erzählung gern : *tsi gye go ≠nahe*, (*-he*, Passivendung), d.h. " und es wurde getanzt," wobei das Subjekt des vorhergehenden Satzes (obwohl im Passivsatz selbest durch kein Suffix angedeutet) doch mit aller Bestimtheit persönlich vorgestellt wird."—a practice singularly like the Bushman. We observe precisely the same syntactical phenomena in our Bloemhof texts, e.g. *ikje haku hje ha, /haudi he: ba nũe:, ikje ≠an ≠annie, etc*, cp. also the last lines of */habab* ceremony, etc.

This looseness in the structure of the Hottentot sentence is still more apparent in the way in which words are juxtaposed to create an adjectival relationship, e.g. *≠an mãsi sa khwekxoa sãsibae*, lit : " know, place, *sa* adjectival postfix, it is cooked for him." (the two first are plain verb-roots), i.e. " certain men are appointed to cook for him." Or again, */homa mã ka'am //ap*. lit. " alone, place, mouth door," i.e. " a separate door," etc. These are purely agglutinative constructions, where all sense of what we are accustomed to call " parts of speech " is lost or perhaps never existed.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

While the Bushmen are hunters, the Khoikhoi are nomads, cattle and sheep farmers; and while the Bushman family has with the Khoikhoi, linguistically speaking, only the clicks and some harsh sounding faucals and a few roots of words in common, the various Bushman languages hitherto recorded, differ among themselves, as much as they differ from the Khoikhoi idioms. This difference and variety in speech is mainly due to their wandering habits and unsettled life. The wild inaccessible mountain strongholds and the arid deserts of South Africa, where nobody can follow them, are their abode; constantly on the alert, constantly on the move, constantly on the path of war, either with other tribes, or with the wild animals, no inducement is given to them for a settled life, the necessary condition of the development of a more articulate speech and a higher intellectual culture.

The Khoikhoi, or Nomadic Hottentots, have all the same language, which branches off in as many idioms and dialects as there are tribes. The idiomatic peculiarities, however, are not very prominent, indeed not so striking, as to hinder a Gei|khau or ǂAuni or !|Habobe of Great Namaqualand, and the ǂNūbe of Ovambóland, or the Geiǂnam of the North Western Kalihari, conversing easily with the inhabitants of the Khamies Bergen (North Western Colony), and with the !Koras and Griquas of Griqualand West and the Orange Free State.

A prominent feature in all the *Khoikhoi* idioms is the strict monosyllabism of the root, ending in a vowel, and the use of pronominal elements as suffixes for the purpose of forming derivatives. The Khoikhoi language is entirely void of prefixes, nay, our prepositions are postpositions. The pronominal elements have in the course of time crystallized, and sometimes melted together into one, and in this new shape accepted the office of classifiers and registrars of substantives or substantified expressions, so that some of our most eminent philologists did not hesitate to consider them homogeneous with the article of

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

193 other sex-denoting languages, chiefly of the Semitic and Hamitic class. But I am convinced that a more careful investigation will lead to the result, that the Khoikhoi language is not sex-denoting in the sense of Aryan or Semitic grammar. The so-called "*article*" is not an article in the sense of grammar, because the root of the Khoikhoi article is not the same throughout the genders, nor throughout the numbers. The following Table will at once explain what I mean:

		Masc.	*Fem.*	*Com.*
Sing.	Subjective	b (bi), m (mi)	s (si)	i
	Objective	ba, ma	sa	(ia) e
Dual.		Subj. and obj. khā	ra	ra
Plur.	Subjective	gu	ti	n
	Objective	ga (gua)	te (tia)	na

In saying this I do not for a single moment deny that the so-called article was *en route* to develop into the meaning and sense of the Aryan article, when by the destructive contact with other races—the Bantu from the North, and the European from the South—this development was suddenly checked.

We may therefore safely, until a more appropriate term for this way of classifying is established, call those particles which serve as classifiers of the three classes of the substantives, *Articles*.

197 The Bushman languages, as far as I had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with them, have no such derivative and formative elements; at least, if they had, such have now entirely disappeared, or are distorted to such a degree, that they defy every analysis. Sometimes one is tempted to believe that there are embryonic indications of such elements; sometimes again one is strongly inclined to take such would-be-suffixes, for dilapidated remnants of pronominal elements. The present Bushman languages bear nearly the same relationship to the Khoikhoi as, among the Indo-European languages, English holds to

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

	Khoikhoi.	*ǂAi-Bushman.*
Milk	bi-s	bi
Honey	dani-s (dini-s)	dini
Fly	ǂgina-s	ǂgini
Light	subu	subu
To laugh	ɣaɪ (ǂKora)	ɣaɪ
To see	mũ	mũ
To kiss	ǁoa	ǁobe

It is of vital importance that the roots, especially in the first syllables and clicks (Anlaut), should agree; and this is here the case.

A prominent feature in all Khoikhoi dialects is a strict monosyllabic tendency, and all roots end with a vowel, and chiefly with *a, i, u; e* and *o* are contractions of the three primitive vowels. As regards the roots in the Bushman languages, they appear more or less polysyllabic, although a great number is monosyllabic. They end generally in a vowel, very often also in a very strong nasal ˜, which I believe is an old crippled suffix, originally having a vowel at the end. For instance, ǂgũ, to go, is by some pronounced ǂgun (ǂgung); this n, as can be proved, is contracted from nɪge or nɪ-ge-ni. These vowels, however, have gradually worn off. Those roots which appear to be polysyllabic, very likely after a more careful study will prove to be compounds of radical elements.

While the Khoikhoi dialects all agree in having the same suffixes for the forming of three distinct numbers, (sing., dual, plur.) the Bushman languages show great irregularities and departures from the rule in this respect. In the ǂKham language (Northern Colonial Border about Kenhardt and Zakrevier)—*mirabile dictu*—the words *man ǂkui goai*, and *woman ǂkui ǂaitĭ*, differ even in the root entirely from the plural *men, ǂēga túgẹn*, and *women ǂēga ǂgāgẹn*. They can therefore not be styled plurals in the general sense of the word.

Then again the plural will be formed simply by reduplication; but it also must be said that some indi-

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

193 viduals of the same tribe do not form a plural at all from the same word, where another individual would do so. There is also a goodly number of substantives, which are not used in the plural, because they are of a collective nature. A dual exists only for the first personal pronoun.

802 As regards the numerals, it seems that the Bushmen languages have not developed them beyond *two*; some travellers speak of *three*; but this is evidently derived from the Khoikhoi word ǀnora or ǀnona for *those*.

The ǀAi-Bushmen, however, who inhabit the North Western Kalihari in the neighbourhood of Xaîtsēs, (west from Lake Ngami or N‖gami) count up to twenty, and for the sake of completeness I give these numerals here, as I have written them down from the mouth of three individuals of the ǀAi tribe.

	ǀAi-Bushman.	*Khoikhoi.*
One	ǀguiï	ǀgui
Two	ǀgam	ǀgam
Three	ǀnona	ǀnona
Four	geië	haga
Five	ǀguim tsoum (*i.e.*, one hand)	gore
Six	ǀguisa	ǀnani
Seven	ǀgamana	hū (hūgu)
Eight	ǀnonadi	‖khaisa
Nine	ǀuitaï ‖gam	khoisi
Ten	ǀǂaiïko	disi
Eleven	tamkhumtsū	disi ǀgui ǀkha
Twelve	ǀgamané	„ ǀgam „
Thirteen	ǀnonané	„ ǀnona „
Fourteen	‖kheîsa	„ haga „
Fifteen	tsūba ǀǂāe	&c. &c.
Sixteen	ǀgui naha ǂgana	
Seventeen	ǀgam naha ǂgana	
Eighteen	ǀnona naha ǂgana	
Nineteen	ǀgamsaragásara	
Twenty	tsutsarukēhā	